

# LIBERAL REPUBLICAN.

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good Magazine.

## WHAT SCHURZ SAYS.

When I was honored with a seat in the  
Senate of the United States I expected to  
support the Administration which  
then came into power. The tasks it  
was called to perform were of un-  
usual importance. The civil war was  
over. Its logical results, the abolition of  
Slavery and the organization of free  
labor society in the South, were just  
being reduced to political form and im-  
bedded in the Constitution of the Re-  
public. It remained to fortify those  
results by reconciling to them the  
minds of the Southern people, so that  
their development could be se-  
curely left to the working of local self  
government instead of the rule of  
force. To this end a wise and gener-  
ous policy, appealing to the best  
instincts of human nature, was required  
to assuage the passions and animosities,  
the war had left behind it, and to make  
those who had been overcome in the  
conflict of arms as much as possible  
satisfied with the new order of things.  
During a period of great public danger  
the constitutional restrictions of power  
had not unfrequently yielded to  
commanding necessity. The law had  
been overridden by the exigencies of  
the moment and the people had become  
accustomed to a government of force.  
It was necessary to restore the integrity  
of the law and make it respected by  
the governing party as well as those  
who were governed. Great abuses had  
crept into the public service, aggravated  
by the practices of warlike times. The  
public interest imperatively demanded  
a thorough reform. The people were  
loaded down with enormous burdens,  
and, while willing to bear all for their  
country, they looked for reasonable  
relief through a sound financial policy.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S EXTRAOR-  
DINARY OPPORTUNITIES AND EXTRAOR-  
DINARY FAILURES.

While these problems were uncom-  
monly perplexing, the incoming  
Administration was favored with  
extraordinary opportunities. The ruling  
party had wielded almost undisputed  
power. It had a great history behind  
it from which it might have drawn a  
noble inspiration for new efforts, aiming  
at something higher than selfish advan-  
tage. It had conquered under the  
banner of peace. There was an abun-  
dant of character and talent in  
its ranks to fit it for the work of reform.  
The newly elected President had the  
confidence of the country in advance.  
The masses of the people were well  
disposed. The greatness of the task  
to be performed, as well as of the  
possibilities presented, could scarcely  
fail to excite the noblest ambition. A  
success great enough to be the envy of  
the world was within reach. It did  
not require very great men to see and  
appropriate such opportunities, but it  
required what I might call the genius  
of smallness to lose them all. More  
than three years of that Administration  
are now behind as a part of the Re-  
public, and what has come of our  
hopes? A disappointment which  
makes further hope appear like  
mockery. This Administration, which  
commenced its career under such happy  
auspices, has in so alarming a degree  
developed some of the very worst

tendencies of our political life that its  
continuance in authority appears as a  
danger and menace to our free institu-  
tions. In no period of our history,  
perhaps, has the selfishness of power  
and the grasping greed of party stood  
more insidiously, stubbornly, and  
conspicuously in the way of manifest  
duty. Let us take a survey of the  
field and trust to the evidence of our  
senses.

## THE FIRST DUTY—CONCILIATION OF THE SOUTH.

The first great object of our policy  
should have been to renationalize the  
South, to revive among the Southern  
people feelings calculated to attach  
their hearts again to the fortunes of  
this Union. For, let us not indulge in  
the delusion that the holding together  
by force of its component parts is a  
basis upon which a Republic can safely  
rest or long endure. It requires that  
bond which binds together the hearts of  
the people, and not their bodies only;  
and to create that bond was for us the  
highest object of statesmanship. We  
read of King Frederick William II. of  
Prussia, the Father of Frederick, the  
Great, that he was fond of occasionally  
cudgeling such of his subjects as  
displeased him. One day while walk-  
ing in the streets of Berlin he saw a  
man hurriedly turn a corner at his  
approach. The King overtook him,  
and asked "why did you run away  
from me?" "Because I was afraid,"  
said the King, "do you know that I  
want my subjects to love me, and not to  
fear me?" And to produce that love  
he gave him a sound drubbing. Such  
methods of creating sentimental  
attachment may have passed more than  
a century ago in a despotic kingdom  
but in a country like this love is not  
inspired by caresses of that kind, and  
even in Prussia they have long since  
come to the conclusion that it requires  
very different methods to build up  
and hold together a great empire. In order  
to revive patriotic feeling and national  
attachment in the South, we had to  
convince the people that we were their  
friends and not their conquerors only;  
that we had their welfare at heart, and  
not our advantage. Only when we  
made them believe in the purity and  
usefulness of our intentions could we  
hope to regain their affections. Let us  
see what was done by the administra-  
tion and the ruling party.

## THE LAWS CONVERTED INTO INSTRU- MENTS OF TYRANNY.

How much they care about the pro-  
tection of the rights of citizens and the  
lives of innocent persons I do not know.  
But I am certain that they value such  
laws especially as political machinery  
to control ballot boxes, as securing an  
extension of their plundering license.  
How will these laws serve that purpose?  
You will learn by studying the history  
of the South during the last few years.  
I have been in North Carolina over 500  
indictments found in some way under  
that legislation, are held by the United  
States authorities in *terrorem* over the  
heads of so many voters and their  
friends to make them vote and exert  
their influence at the impending State  
election as the managers of the Grant  
party direct. It is thus that the ruling  
party makes itself felt in those States.  
It is in this light that the majesty of  
the National Government appears to  
those people, not as a friend to lift  
them up from their prostration, to  
guide them out of their errors with a  
generous hand, and to make them look  
up to the national flag as a symbol of  
justice and fairness equal to all; not  
that, but as the ally and abettor of the  
robbers who suck their blood, as the  
mainstay of a system which drains their  
resources; blasts their hopes, emascul-  
ates their energies, mocks their enter-  
prise and condemns them to utter pov-  
erty, distress, and ruin. You honest Re-  
publicans whose ears have been assidu-  
ously filed only with horrible Ku-Klux  
stories, and whose mind is unversed in  
the mysteries of party management,  
you may look with surprise at this  
picture. You may not understand that  
the affection of these people cannot be  
successfully invited by the "cry," "You  
must love us, if it takes your last pen-  
ny."

## PERSONAL GOVERNMENT.

A painful but still reluctant appre-  
hension was then dawning upon the  
minds of some that the conduct of this  
great Government had fallen into the  
hands of a trifle. The distribution of  
offices was now in order, and the Pres-  
ident began at once to shower the  
sweets of his official patronage upon his  
relatives and his personal friends. He  
had probably never heard of nepotism, and

was undoubtedly the last man to feel the  
indecent of his conduct. Regarding the  
presidency as an accommodation to him,  
and its appendages as a sort of personal  
property, he did not see why he should  
not increase his own comfort with the  
offices of the Republic. Likewise did  
it not strike him as scandalous to re-  
ward men who had given him valuable  
presents with high and responsible  
duties. He simply liked to please  
those who had pleased him. That was  
all. He found it unreasonable, there-  
fore, that, in the gratification of that  
desire the opinions of others should  
stand in his way. He surely believed  
that fault-finders were meddling with  
things which belonged to him and  
were no business of theirs. Neither  
did he find it reasonable that the man  
to whom the Presidency had been  
given as a reward should be hampered  
by legal obstructions, and when he  
found an old and wise statute stand-  
ing in the way of the appointment of his  
Secretary of the Treasury, and the  
Tenure-of-Office act troubled him in  
distributing the patronage, he simply  
said to Congress—"Just repeal me  
these laws." That the repeal of such  
laws might lead to very mischievous  
consequences, troubled him little.  
They stood in his way, and that was  
enough for him. Soon after his ac-  
cession to power, he gave his mind,  
not to the great problems the solution  
of which the people so anxiously looked  
for, but to a project of his own—the  
acquisition of Santo Domingo. A sub-  
ject of such importance as the incorpo-  
ration with our political system of a  
tropical country with an utterly hetero-  
geneous people, called for the most  
careful and earnest consideration. It  
is believed that the Secretary of  
State did not favor the scheme, and  
the State Department whose office  
it is to conduct all the diplomatic  
affairs of the Government was uncer-  
emoniously set aside. The President  
commenced a personal negotiation with  
Baz, the ruler of Santo Domingo,  
which he entrusted to one of his young  
aides de camp, whose zeal he had rea-  
son to believe equal to his own. The  
extraordinary character of this pro-  
ceeding did not trouble him. He  
wanted to have the thing done; and  
to do it, an aide-de-camp was better than  
a Secretary of State. The aide-de-  
camp made a sort of a personal treaty  
between the two potentates, in which  
the President was pledged to propitiate  
the favor of Congress for the scheme of  
the lobby influence. This disgraceful  
engagement would have revolted the  
sensibilities of any President having  
the dignity of his high office and the  
honor of the nation at heart. But  
President Grant was so far from dis-  
approving of it that, instead of marking  
that aide-de-camp with his displeasure,  
he continued to employ him in confi-  
dential missions for the same object.  
Nay in compliance with the stipulations  
of agreement, he actually did descend  
to the role of a lobbyist. I have seen  
him in that capacity myself. How  
could a President lower himself so far?  
Why, if nobody else wanted Santo  
Domingo, he does; he employed the  
means most congenial to his practical  
mind.

## THE WAR POWER USURPED.

He went further. Baz, the other  
party to the arrangement, being in dan-  
ger of being driven from power—  
which would have spoiled the scheme—  
Gen. Grant concluded that his friend  
Baz must be sustained at any price.  
The method was simple. He ordered  
the Navy of the United States to be-  
liever with shot and shell anybody who  
might attack Baz, even if it be that  
usurper's own subjects. The war ships  
of the United States were virtually  
placed at the disposal of a foreign poten-  
tate. But could he order acts of war  
without the authority of Congress?  
Did he not know that the Constitution  
vests the war-making power in Con-  
gress? Perhaps he did not know.  
At any rate he did not care. He  
considered it his business. The Senate  
by a solemn vote rejected the treaty of  
annexation. The President in his mes-  
sage, told the Senate that this was a  
great folly, and kept the war-ships at  
the disposal of Baz, with instructions  
to shoot and slaughter as occasion might  
require. When it at last appeared  
that there was absolutely no hope for  
the project, its opponents being sup-  
ported by the whole American people,  
he temporarily abandoned it, undoubt-  
edly to take it up again if he should be  
re-elected. And now we see the  
Constitution violated; a precedent set  
which, if taken as a rule of constitution-  
al construction, will place the peace of  
the Republic at the mercy of one man's  
whims and ambition; the Presidential  
dignity dragged into the dust; the

honor of the nation sullied—for what?  
To further a personal scheme of the  
President, in which nobody took any  
but a negative interest; neither the  
Cabinet, nor Congress, nor the Ameri-  
can people—nobody but the President,  
his aides-de-camp, and a few speculators  
of dark reputation. What the Presi-  
dent's motives were in so violently  
pushing this scheme I do not know.  
Certainly the main reason with which  
he advocated it in his message, that the  
productions of Santo Domingo would  
pay the national debt was so supremely  
childish as to make the very school-  
boys laugh. But he wanted it: and  
neither the Constitution, nor the  
dignity of his high office, nor the honor  
of the nation should stand in the way  
of a thing he wanted.

## THE LIFE OF THE REPUBLIC THREAT- ENED.

Ask those who in that party honestly  
strove to arrest the current of usurpa-  
tions and corruption, and they  
will tell you that they found themselves  
running against a combination of des-  
potism and submission as against a  
wall, deaf to the appeals of reason,  
and inaccessible to shame. As one on  
the floor of Congress myself, and I  
know whereof I speak. I have stood  
there, startled at the stolid cynicism  
with which to shield those in power,  
the most obvious conclusions rejected,  
the light of truth itself turned into  
darkness. I have stood there, amazed  
at the cowardly courage born of desper-  
ate causes with which, to justify the  
abuses and misdeeds of the Govern-  
ment, principles were set up and doc-  
trines advanced such as would make  
every friend of popular freedom grow  
pale, and the fathers of the republic  
turn in their graves. I have stood  
there, overwhelmed with shame and  
sadness at the very degradation of man-  
hood I saw before me. I have stood  
there, bowed down by the conviction  
that under the pressure of influences  
the struggle for good government must  
become a vain folly, and that we shall  
soon have to fight for the very existence  
of Republican institutions. Such is  
the rule which at this moment controls  
the Republican party, and through it  
the American people, and this rule we  
are asked to continue. As for myself  
I shall not help in doing it. I can-  
not do it. I have been an humble and  
faithful worker in the Republican ranks  
from the beginning of my public life  
and my political associations were dear  
to my heart. But this servile organi-  
zation is not the Republican party  
which had my allegiance. I came to  
this country from a foreign land to  
enjoy the blessings of republican gov-  
ernment, and to live in the moral pride  
of a free man. I cannot sacrifice both  
to a party which has become false itself.  
I have always believed that true progress  
grows out of a free and manly contest  
of opinions, and I cannot aid in tight-  
ening round the American people that  
network of organized selfishness, that  
snakish coil of power, which is to stifle  
every free aspiration and to bind the  
people down to a will not their own.  
It is my profound conviction that this  
network must be broken through, this  
despotism must be destroyed, the peo-  
ple must be inspired once more with  
the breath of independent opinion.  
We must have the emancipation of  
of political consciousness, and now is the  
time to strike for it. Have you thought  
of it, how a condition of things such  
as now surrounds us could develop  
itself? It is not a new story.

ANOTHER GREAT ENGINEERING  
WORK.—A contract has lately been  
signed between the directors of the  
St. Gothard Railway, Switzerland, and  
M. L. Favre, of Geneva, for the boring  
of a new railway tunnel through the  
Alps, which promises to surpass any-  
thing of the kind yet attempted. The  
length of the tunnel will be a little  
more than nine miles. Cost \$10,000,-  
000. The work is to be finished within  
eight years; and if sooner finished the  
contractor is to receive \$1,000 a day  
for each day in advance of the contract  
time. If the completion of the work  
is from any cause delayed beyond the  
contract time, \$1,000 a day are to be  
forfeited. If the delay reaches beyond  
six months, the forfeit is then increased  
to \$2,000 a day. The contractor de-  
posits \$1,000,000 as a security for the  
faithful performance of the work. If  
the delay exceeds the contract time  
beyond a year, the contract is to be  
broken and the company take possession  
of the security money. The contractor  
is an eminent civil engineer, and a man  
of rare abilities. He was formerly a  
journeyman carpenter in Paris.—Sci-  
entific American.

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24-11

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Sam'l. Coad,  
27-3m

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